1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pona*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yikuanga-e nono i te nguturuale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private home of So-and-so). The word *nguturuale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *nguturuale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *waelanga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*tulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[597] 851 621 602 the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 262 The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

591 261 621 592 In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*wai tuunga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621 602 592 The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

A widow who is head of a household (4 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

[888]

591 621 The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

623 Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mole* of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention.

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama te tahe*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama te tahe*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 3, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

853 846 and of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *puka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with vauvau fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuetia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama na mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*tuyuaga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 517 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans. No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be 845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the [illegible]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *uto*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts and by the naming of the child:

Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *puaki* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

851 574 612 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uluaki*), the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *uuele* food division. If the *uluaki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tauumaiyanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uuele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uuele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*uuiua*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[175] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uuale lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*uuale tamaaiuiua*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Mou (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Mani Kuia (brown money, gold), Apaunu (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however misplaced, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food stores and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

577 [431] 653 851 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards. They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 828 577 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive institution of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 159 162 Lima (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Lalava, comes back to Mata's house from working in the bush with Lalava, eats some food, throws off his loincloth and then starts to walk down the